1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

624 423 312

One of the clerk's most troublesome duties is keeping track of irrigation property. If a stream commences in the property of a certain man, that man has the right to build a ditch within his own property to irrigate his own fields, and that water belongs exclusively to him. If he wishes to sell the rights to some of the water to a neighbor, he allows the neighbor to lead water off the stream below the place at which he leads off his own water, and likewise allows this neighbor to build a ditch across his land to the purchaser's field. The purchaser must pay for the water rights and for the narrow strip of land on which the ditch runs. The clerk makes out papers for the transfer of these rights, and signs them.

He also makes out papers for other irrigation complications. One man may sell the right of one day's water per year to another man through whose land his ditch passes. If a ditch is led off from a large stream which flows through a number of villages, no one owns the original water, but any man who constructs a ditch from it has the right to the water which is led off, once he has paid for the land which the ditch crosses. Men who construct such ditches usually sell so many shares in it that in time it becomes almost communal. The shares are sold on the basis of so many day's water a year per man. If a dry year comes or the water is low, each man receives a reduced share of the water proportionate to his original allowance.

If a ditch owner has allowed another man to lead off part of his water into another ditch, under time limit or restriction, when a season of drought comes they take turns, day by day, so as to divide equally what little there is of it.

If in a series of step-terraces, built one above the other, an avalanche covers more than the top one, the owners of all the terraces in the series have to work together to remove the stones. If a cloudburst pushes these same terraces down the side of the mountain so that the top one has lowered its position, and the bottom one has fallen into the stream and its earth been washed away, the owners of the terraces go to the clerk and find out exactly how much of this particular terrace land each of them possessed. If they each owned a third, the clerk measures, with string, what arable land remains, and divides it up proportionately, so that the order of ascension is the same as before, but the area of each is proportionately reduced. If, however, the bottom one suffers loss through the action of the stream and nothing has happened to the upper ones, the owner of the bottom terrace has to suffer his loss alone. Any small loss of earth or manure due to a storm may not be recovered; the owner of the lower terrace into which it has been washed may keep it. If the boundary wall between two terraces has been broken in by the storm, and dirt has washed over the stones, making the boundary questionable, the clerk comes with the papers of the original sale and a cord, and measures the terraces anew. Then the owner of the upper terrace must build another retaining wall, and cannot recover the earth which he has lost, unless, as above stated, the upper boundary of his land has slumped downhill and the bottom terrace has fallen into the stream.

624 423

When a man's tree thrusts its branches over a boundary so that it hangs over another man's land and makes shade on it, preventing the growth of grain or vegetables, the owner of the shaded land may protest and demand that that part of the tree be removed. The clerk forbids cutting it, however, and orders the owner of the tree to give a fourth of its fruit to the other man.

624 471

The clerk also keeps track of the olive press, and of the succession of those entitled to use it. If a neighboring *bone* has no press he lets it use the one in his territory, before the

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The akhammās contract is the most
common type, but also current is a slightly different class of association, called *ifarādhen* (Arabic *bil-fard*): two farmers who own plots of land more or less equal in size, but who do not have enough equipment to plow them on their own, join forces; the harvest is divided equally between the two parties. This form is particularly prevalent if each man concerned only possesses one cow or one mule. A third kind of associstion, called *dhūrī*, is very common in irrigable land; in this, one man supplies the land and half the seed, and the other the rest of the seed and the plowing equipment (animals and plow). The actual work, which may be done by an *akhammās*, and the payment of other hired personnel to help with the reaping, is taken care of by both parties, and the net profit, deducting one-fifth for the *akhammās*, is divided in half.

Except in the Bay of Alhucemas, where irrigation is practiced without terracing, and in the valley of the Upper Ghīs, where there is much terracing but little irrigation, irrigation ditches *(tharga*, pl. *tharghiwīn)* and terraced fields, gardens and orchards are everywhere else to be found jointly in Aith Wuryāghil; the distribution of the one is virtually the same as that of the other. Ownership of irrigation water is largely dependent upon ownership of land, for in Aith Wuryāghil the owner of a plot of land is also the owner of the subsoil, and the waters which pass through his territory belong to him. Water is utilized by human beings, animals, lands and industries; rights of preference are in that order, the industries being represented by water mills (3), the owners of which receive one-tenth of the grain which the mills grind as their commission.

The Rīf, however, is a land not favored by nature, and water is a perennial problem. In Aith Wuryāghil, the people in the mountains receive first use of the water, while those in the Bay of Alhucemas irrigate with the remainder. The turns of each family in getting water are based on the principle of equal distribution, and natural means are used to calculate the time. Men have first call on water consumption, and the rest is reserved for women, for whom it is custo-

(3) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: El Rif (2.ª parte-La Ley Rifeña): II. Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados, Ceuta 1939, pp. 101-138.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

mary to arrange a fixed place beforehand for washing and bathing. Each *jamā'ath* (village, council of notables) works out and agrees on fines for infractions of water rights, particularly with regard to freedom of women; a small boy is stationed at a prudent distance from the women's section of the water, to keep men away (4).

It was Col. Blanco, in his magnificent analysis of Riffian customary law (5) (which has served as an invaluable aid to me in the collection of my own notes on the subject), who first called attention to the fact that in the Bay of Alhucemas, the primary ditches have secondary branches which only take up water for twenty-four hours; if there are four such secondary branches, each one only takes up water every four days. Secondary ditches in turn have tertiary branches, which take up water only during the day, or at night. The tertiary branches lead to the very small ditches of individuals, which take up water for a few hours only, these hours usually being determined by those of the daily prayers. Distribution of water is based on the tribal social structure: a *thārfiqth*, the fundamental social unit, receives water from a secondary ditch on a twenty-four hour basis, while a *jājghū* or patrilineal extended family within the *thārfiqth* may use only a tertiary ditch. If one of these family groups, during one turn, gets its water during the day, it will receive it at night in the following round, and the first in one turn will be the last in the next. All ditches are subject to communal maintenance and all the families who use them must help repair them after heavy rains have washed them out.

Water rights are still carefully regulated by the *'urf*, or unwritten customary law, and custom in respect to water channeled off from the Ghīs is different from that of the Nakūr, owing to the different nature of the rivers themselves. In the Bay of Alhucemas, the best land in the tribe, the flow of water in the lower course of the Ghīs, although slight, is nevertheless constant. The problem created by the Ghīs is that although today its volume has been artificially increased with new concrete beds for the primary ditches of Thafadhna, Bulma'iz and Libzimma, there would still not be enough water to go around if

(4) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 101.
(5) Blanco Izaga, 1939, passim.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The houses are widely scattered up and down the mountains, each one being at least three hundred meters away from the next. Its construction and situation reflect the independent spirit of its owner. Almost always isolated to at least this extent, such a dwelling is usually the residence of a man, his unmarried brothers an sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This is only part of the family; the rest of it, living in similar houses the usual distance away, includes the man's married brothers and their wives and unmarried children. Thus the family, as it is know in Aith Wuryāghil, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; when the daughters marry, they go to live with their husbands' people, for this is a patrilineal and patrilocal society. This extended family or *jājghū* (pl. *ijūjgha*) is a cooperative economic unit; the affiliations of in-marrying wives are with it rather than with the families from which they came. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old *jājghū* splits into as many new *ijūjgha* as there were married brothers originally.

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the elders of the *jājghū*, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two *'adūl* proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all, when the father dies; but with many sons, the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit; quarrels may develop, in which case the land is divided up among the sons, each one looking after his own share. The inheritance system follows standard Islamic practice, with the portion of one son equalling that of two daughters. If daughters whose share of the family property includes land marry into other villages or political sections, they are often induced to sell out their own holdings to their brothers so that the land will remain securely in the hands of the family. These are

Moreover, even though many rural details of life during the 'Ripublik' have now been forgotten, many attitudes and values of that era, which, as noted, lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim in 1921, are still fully present. The Rifian keeps an iron grip on what belongs to him, and this applies particularly to his womenfolk, who, albeit highly respected, are kept equally secluded and segregated. Also, his land, poor as it may be, is his own and no one else's, in true "territorial imperative" style. But especially with the coming of the protectorate, the values underlying the bloodfeud, which was once the dominant political institution of the society, were channeled into the newer direction of labor migration: in the old days of the 'Ripublik', a man had to kill his enemy to make his mark, while more recently he had to go out and get a job. (Until 1962 and Algerian Independence, work on the farms of French colons in that country was the favored mode and region of labor migration, while since that time the current has shifted to Western Europe.)

The Aith Waryaghar uprising against the Indepent Moroccan Government in 1958-1959 - which was forcibly put down by the new Royal Army in its first post-Independence test of strength - was a graphic indication, at the tribal level, that the old values of Rifian "apartness" within the wider national Moroccan society are still resistant to change, for despite its "modern" objectives, the uprising itself was carried out in a "traditional", "take-to-the-hills" manner. And these same values are even more discernible, today as in Blanco's time, at the level of the jma'th, the local community. Community life among the Aith Waryaghar is both intense and inner-directed, as, for

on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these necessities are complemented.

The patrimony of the jma'th is made up exclusively of communal lands. The jma'th is thus formed not only by people but by lands. It thus has a territorial significance which the dharfiqth lacks, for it may have immovable property in another tribe[76], and acts committed by its members outside the "municipal terminus" are thus not handled by it exclusively. For this reason there is a need for another social organ structured in an analogous manner, but of greater importance and more extensive jurisdiction: the "fraction" (i.e. clan or subclan.) This wider grouping, although it also has a localistic significance and a breadth wider than the village or hamlet of isolated homesteads or groups of homesteads that we have seen in the jma'th, has other more sharply defined characteristics. It alone intervenes in inter-jma'th matters, in most cases; for the custom of the jma'th itself is nothing more than inter-family (i.e. inter-lineage) custom.

3) The "fraction" (clan) is an association of neighboring jma'th-s for sociopolitical ends; it is a state in miniature, an independent republic, and the true Rifian patria because it is within the limits of this unit that the Rifian lives out his life; where he finds what he needs, and where his law is made[77].

The clan has two distinctive features: its law and its market. It is my opinion that places in tribal areas which the natives regard as ancient Christian[78] market sites are nothing but former "clan" markets which are no longer in use and the memory of which has not persisted through time. In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin,

5: Blanco Izaga G 4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

423 A curious feature of Rifian society is that the territorial limits of its social units are to a certain extent elastic. An individual or a family, for example, may acquire land in another tribe, and his or their own clan or tribe does not appropriate for itself the territory he occupied previously; this remains fixed. But when [628] the properties of an individual or a kin group which are modified are bordering each other, then the jma'th, clan or tribe, or rather, its area of extension or its areal jurisdiction, follows an analogous variation, improvement or cutting-off, increase or loss, advance or retreat, as the case may be; and such instances bring about not a few 423 quarrels and altercations. This happened in Ibuqquyen, whose people 619 saw their neighbors of Aith Waryaghar creeping into their territory through slowly buying up all the good land around the middle course of the Buham River, at which point they opposed selling them any more terrain...This territorial elasticity, although it does not bring about great modifications because of the incessant watch which the tribes instinctively keep over their land, also derives, no doubt, from the ancient family concept of opposition to everything which could weaken it; and, as a result, such land returns most often to its tribe of origin through abandonment, new acquisition or exchange, if it has been alienated. Such elasticity tends to become lessened (with [131] consequently greater rigidity of tribal boundaries) when it coincides with natural boundaries, as, for example, in the middle and upper courses of the Nkur River, separating the tribes of Axt Tuzin and Aith Waryaghar; but even so, this play of property has nevertheless modified tribal frontiers as well delineated as this one.

5. Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Igzinnayen

619 [423] [191] A large number of their families own land in the region immediately north of Jbil 'Ain 'Uqqa. They are bilingual, but they prefer to speak Rifian, which they learn as children.

The l-'Atamna (of the Asht r-Udha) say that they are descended from the Hawwara, which does not seem probable, considering that they all show "Berber" characteristics and that the Hawwara were "Arabs".

The Dharwa Haddu consider themselves to be descended from the Ulad 'Assu bin 'Abd Allah (Rifian Asht 'Assu 'Abd Allah) and from the Eastern Rifian tribe of Aith Bu Yihyi[154].....The ancestors of Hamza bin 'Abd Allah are buried in the latter area, near the Angad.

[166] A large number of Igzinnayen, some 1500 families, mostly from Asht 'Asim, left their own land to move to l-Mta, just north of Fez. Various reasons have been given for this, the most probable being that of poverty[155].

The Asht r-Udha, Ishawiyen, Bu Isri and Izimmuren (of the Asht r-Udha) are descendants of Abu 'Amama, whose grandfather Talib ibn Isma'il ibn Hamza ibn 'Abd Allah of Rashida was appointed basha of Igzinnayen by the Sultan 'Abd Allah Hamrini Tamrin in the 7th century A.H. On the other hand, there is still a group of Asht Hamza in the area around Aknul.

The Asht Mhand (or Bni Mhammad), in the earliest times of which the Arab chroniclers have any record, resided in the Jbil Sidi S'aid, in the area at present occupied by the shurfa of Aith Sidi S'aid in Mtalsa. Due to a dispute which rose up among them, they became divided. [578] [166] Some went to the Bni Bu Ya'la in the Branis and the rest formed the Asht Mhand of the Igzinnayen, where they are today.

000 [613] 47--An individual does not, sensu stricto, enter a liff on his own, but is rather affiliated automatically with the liff or wider alliance to which his lineage belongs, although he may later switch his allegiance to fracture lineage unity. (This is not uncommon.)

[191] 48--The number of Rifians who are adherents to Muslim religious brotherhoods (a wide-spread phenomenon in other parts of Morocco) is not large, although it has remained fairly constant even after Moroccan independence and the wane of the fraternities' influence on the Moroccan political scene. For a discussion of the role of [113] brotherhoods in Morocco, see F. S. Vidal, "Religious Brotherhoods and Moroccan Politics", Middle East Journal, 1950. ...The most important brotherhood in the Central Rif is the Darqawa, with adepts [668] in the Aith Waryaghar, Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; it is said that 'Abd al-Krim himself was a member of this order originally, but that on his rise to power he suppressed all brotherhood activities in a clean sweep in order to minimize the possibility of their turning against him. Other orders include the 'Alawiyin, among some of the mountain segments of the Aith Waryaghar, and the Tijaniyin and Nasiriyin in the Igzinnayen.

562 428 114 423 [794] 49--Here again Blanco is in error, as habus has nothing to do with the return to her father's house of a divorced woman. Habus is a religious or charitable endowment, and in Morocco it usually takes the form of a property donation to a religious institution, such as a mosque or a saint's tomb. The word implies, always, property which has been set aside; and although Rifians do not admit any notion of "private habus" in theory, they do so in practice. In the Central Atlas, for example, a man who is afraid that his sons will sell his land may put it in a state of habus, as it were, to prevent them from doing so; and while such a notion is unthinkable to Rifians, it is equally unthinkable that a son would sell his father's patrimony! Thus the idea of habus is intimately linked with that of indivision, and, as such, it has a bearing on the position of women with respect to inheritance rules. Although women theoretically inherit both real and movable property, their share almost invariably remains, in practice, in the hands of their fathers or brothers when they marry. Rifians say that it is perfectly permissible for a married women to come back to her father's house and cultivate her property; but that this is an evasion is readily seen from the fact that in Morocco it is men and not women who cultivate property! Thus, in effect, the "men's habus", of a private rather than a religious nature, safeguards a daughter's share of the inheritance--for the sons! For a discussion [113] of this problem in the Sus and Anti-Atlas, see Andre Adam, "Les Origines Ethniques de la Population Marocaine Musulmane de Casablanca", in Anthony F. C. Wallace, Ed., Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, September 1-9, 1956, Phildelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, pp. 371-76 (our reference to p. 372). Adam refers to this problem within the context of temporary emigration of small grocery-store keepers from the Anti-Atlas to Casablanca.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 It is of interest to note in passing that the only other part of North Africa where the same word (or, at least, a close variation, harfiqth) is normally employed to denote a lineage is among the Shawiya of the Aurès Mountains in Algeria (cf. Pierre Bourdieu, Sociologie de l'Algérie, series "Que Sais-Je?", Paris; Presses Universitaires de France, 1959, p. 37.)

[614] 63--Montagne is completely in error here, for the Rifian dharfiqth is not a clan at all, but a patrilineage. Blanco is somewhat nearer the truth, but always with this reservation: that although in some jma'th-s there may be (and indeed there are) no known kinship ties between their component dharfiqin, in others there most definitely are such ties. The latter case, as previously stated, is indeed the rule rather than the exception; but affiliations in either case can only be established on the basis of an individiual jma'th-by-jma'th analysis, and not selectively, as Blanco, in effect, has done it.

[581] 64--We have found no particular regional emphasis here. Marriages are made, among other reasons, both to heal bloodfeuds and to cement political alliances in both the Rif and the Atlas, and we are sure this is the case in Kabylia as well, although we have no personal acquantance with the area.

[593] [114] 65--One feels that some aspect of this judgment may be unnecessarily harsh even though we have heard (but not seen) a number of informants beat their wives, with the accompanying screams and howls of the latter. It is very difficult for a male anthropologist to gain any kind of access whatsoever to Rifian women, with the result that almost all information of this kind must of necessity be at second-hand, rather than direct observation. It also goes without saying that any remarks one might make about "cruelty" can, if not considered within the proper ethical-cultural framework, be construed only as value judgments.

66--To our knowledge, a woman cannot act as ukih for another women in the Rif.

● [423] 67--Jma-th or collective property consists in the main of pasture land.

[114] 68--We have never heard of anything of the sort in the Rif, where theft is generally punished by a fine and the restitution of the stolen object.

69--The Scottish clan, as any anthropologist knows, is not a clan at all, but a bilateral kindred. Rifians, as already mentioned, however, [614] do have clans (the largest and topmost level groupings in each tribe function as such); but these are quite a different thing from the notion of the jma'th!

[114] [829] 70--Blanco does not specifically come out and say so, but he obviously thinks--and, in large measure, correctly--that the inability of most Rifians to explain what a jma'th is and what its social role consists of may well have led to the confusion evinced by previous authors in attempting to define it. In any case, a certain degree of structural ambiguity seems to be inherent in Berber social organization generally.

623 793 411 421 423 91--The comparison which Blanco makes here of the institution of habus to a rich widow is a challenging one; for after land has been donated to a mosque as habus, the question of who works it is resolved by the nadhir l-ahbas, or habus property administrator, of which there is one, at present, in each province of Morocco (with a central Ministry of Habus in Rabat). He goes to the tribal markets periodically and, through the market crier, auctions it off to the highest bidder, who in turn receives all the harvest for his own use. This system is in vogue at present and was also current during Spanish times. During the "Ripublik", however, in the days before there was a nadhir l-ahbas, the members of the jma'th concerned worked habus land, and, after selling the harvest, used the profits to buy mats for the mosque. Sometimes, also, the jma'th would designate a poor man to work habus land for a fixed share of the field (usually one-fifth or one-fourth), though this was not as common as the preceding arrangement.

000 [114] 92--Blanco is mistaken here, as there was, and still is, only one agricultural-irrigational expert, the aquwwam, whose judgment is generally sought in disputes over irrigation water.

[114] 93--Again in this instance one can detect the influence on Blanco of Robert Montagne, who devotes the whole last third of his book (Montagne, op. cit., 1930) to the "rise to personal power" of the three Grand Qa'ids (the Glawi, the Mtuggi and the Guntafi) in the Western Atlas, and cites the rise of 'Abd al-Krim in the Rif as a parallel case. Under the French, the Glawi soon eclipsed his two competitors to become a single "Lord of the Western Atlas", as well as Pasha of Marrakesh; while it was the presence of the Spaniards in the Eastern Rif which produced the Rifian "national" leader, 'Abd al-Krim. Montagne's argument for a kind of unidirectional political evolution, from the nameless members of a village council, in the middle and latter half of the 19th century, through to nationally known tribal or regional leaders' through a continuous scramble-for-power process of "top-dog-ism", is a very persuasive one. Whatever objections one may have to it, it is likely to remain the argument for a long time to come--because today, in the 1960's, the facts of the matter have become almost impossible to (re-)check; and the old men who remember such things are now all dead or dying off.

[613] 94--"Government by the few": possibly, if the lineage or clan headman can be so designated. However, each lineage head was in reality little more than a primus inter pares, and anyone who attained clan-wide recognition was just that much more primus. Once again we are faced with how badly the European shoe fits the Berber foot.

95--The Spanish original is absurdo.

96--The jma'th is not just an economic organism or organization, but a group of people, the majority of whom are genealogically related to each other, living together in a hamlet or village which bears its own name and forms a member group in a segmentally organized system of such jma'th-s, all of which belong to a territorial or segmental unit of a higher order. Relationships between member jma'th-s of the same order of segmentation are at once economic, social, political, legal, and religious.

621 423 11) Estate: The rural estate must be considered as being formed by the funds and property which the members of the jma'th looked after and which are mentioned in Section (5) above, and those which they used in common, such as lands and fruit trees, water, brushwood, pasturage, etc., (all) comprising the patrimony of the jma'th, given the fact that all of these were administered freely by the latter, and that they originated in it and invested in it, although toward different means and ends, as we shall try to show.

794 793 a) Worship: The attentions to worship, in any tribe, presented two aspects which were cared for in different ways. One was that regarding all pertaining to the mosque as a building, dhamzyidha (construction, repairs and maintenance), and the other was that of the personage who officiated within it: the fqih. The resources on which both depended had the same origin: the intangible patrimony of the mosque formed by voluntary donations of well-to-do and pious individuals, consisting of lands and fruit trees, the working of which through leasing and the acquisition of graves in the vicinity of the mosque constituted its income. [423]

794 [429] [251] The administration of these properties was the job of a lay member of the community, who was nominated by it and to which he had to account. The storeroom for grain was the ghurfa (Rif. ghwarfth), the second story, or any other room of the dhamzyidha or mosque, the key of which was kept by the mqaddim just mentioned, while the fiqh was its guard.

427 241 621 When plowing-time arrived, the patrimony was leased at a meeting of the jma'th, and when it was time for the harvest, each

[See p. 183--Analyst]

person took to the storeroom the share of grain which had been allotted to him.

The fqih was contracted and paid through this share of grain. The mqaddim's job was gratuitous and was reduced to the acquisition of mats, lighting, buckets, brooms, small repairs, the storing of the harvest and the payment of the fqih, with due notice given to the jma'th. For other expenses, such as additions and improvements on the building, etc., there had to be prior agreement on the part of the jma'th, i.e. acceptance of these matters by the various lineage heads.

From this simple mechanism and the character of these properties resulted their scrupulous and austere administration by lay tribesmen (author's italics), which any other procedure would have been hard put to surpass. The result was that not only were the summary needs of this sort, today unsettled, catered to, but that it was rare to find a mosque which did not possess surplus stores good for five or six years. Hence this constituted a true estate, a localistic tie which everyone voluntarily tried to improve and which today it is possible that we (i.e. the Spanish administration) have disrupted.

It has been said that our (i.e. the Spanish) occupation and action have forced the discovery and have focused upon habus (religious and/or charitable endowment) properties which were either hidden or were on the point of disappearance. In the (tribal) countryside, this is either an error or an infantilism. Not only have we (the administration) discovered nothing of the sort, but we have confused things a great deal, as anyone who reads this paper, or rather, anyone

423 794 171 [621] interested in doing field research may see. What happened was that the jma'ath, given their natural lack of confidence and their fear of our innocent decrees, disclosed to us a part (of what had happened), reserving for themselves exactly what was needed in order to assure themselves, in the worst cases, of the maintenance of worship and the dhamzyidha, the social and religious link.

621 423 794 With this estate, with this "bank", the poor jma'ath, in their hazardous existence, were able to save themselves in hard times, either in times of famine or drought, with advances of grain, or in times of violence, with advances of fines, muna-s (food) to harka-s in transit, acquisition of arms and ammunition, etc.

423 794 With the new centralizing system of a shocking and unanimous complaint, there is no rural mosque which is looked after; the fiscalization of accounts does not have that (degree of) efficiency; and, outside of its bureaucracy, the profits may only be revealed in the ostentatious and less accommodating urban mosques, given that if the latter were nests of preachers, and loafers, and rebels, the former acted as places of asylum, banks, storehouses, councils, clubs and schools. But the worst is that such a procedure mocks the will of the donor and falsifies management of the donation, for the property which the devout and rustic tribesman turned over were destined for lay administration and for the profit of his humble dhamzyidha, and with it for his family and for the small social nucleus within which his life developed. It was not in order to cover up the leaks of the mosque, whether large or small, nor to enlighten any urban mulay, whose surplus resources, religiosity and the prodigality of whose adherents could

423 never be made use of through such modest donations, so exact was the
794 objective for which they were turned over. And today they are obliged to be substituted by new constructions, as already we are finding instances in which the tribesmen are obliged to use part of their communal property in order to cover their minimal religious needs.

The traditional tribesman, a localistic and primitive soul, could never dream that his generous gesture and the fruit of his labor would be converted into utilization for and the beautifying of the vampire city, of that city which he knows only through its derisive attitude toward him and its desire to cheat him.[12]

651 b) Self-Taxation: This category was fulfilled in the jma'th
621 through other classes of property, such as religious (properties), through voluntary contributions and through alms.

The 'ashur (Rif. dha'ashurth) or tithe from the harvests, which was received in kind by another amin (read mqaddim), also a lay (author's italics) tribesman expressly nominated by the jma'th to whom he was responsible, justifying payments and income, and guarding and administering voluntary donations.

651 The respect for and knowledge of these good customs and
648 primary institutions in the Rif has permitted us to utilize such sentiments of solidarity on diverse occasions, without excessive shifts from times of abundance to others of restriction, hence giving them the sensation of our constant solicitude and thus coming to establish in some jma'ath and 'bureaux' (oficinas) the idea of voluntary deposits (donations), and hence again (re)awakening Custom.

[648] 12--This paragraph, as well as the preceding one with its reference to the "urban mulay", clearly indicate that Blanco fully shared the prevailing view of the protectoral authorities of both zones of Morocco regarding the administrative wisdom inherent in the separation of Town and Tribe.

792 794 who played such an important role as good and neutral men, healers and harborers of (individuals in) asylum in days past of fratricidal struggles (i.e. bloodfeud), this (most curious) Berber society afforded them, in exchange for their partisan withdrawal and their other-worldliness, sufficient means for a quiet and dignified existence.

423 178 794 Today, perhaps, the only responsibilities depending on the stocks such as those cited above are the well-spaced visits of such individuals or of an occasional interventor; and what is left over is used to buy an animal and celebrate a communal repast which, now as then, compensates for the Rifians' enforced vegetarianism.

423 621 794 The result is that, in reality, individual and jma'th, for all these matters of an economic character, complement each other admirably in their rudimentary (sic) administration. The individuals voluntarily turn over rugs and lamps, and put in working time in the fields and seed; while the jma'th supplies the harvest and anything else needed, and then distributes the surplus. For this reason, visits [574] with "meals" involved do not please the Rifians, and they are beginning to complain about them, no matter who the guest is.[15]

423 648 d) Communal Property: Communal lands are infinitely more complicated a matter for the protectors to classify and put in order, to say nothing of the Makhzin: for the locals oppose by any and all means any clarifications on this score. They mistrust the intentions of the former, who have not yet succeeded in inspiring the confidence necessary for collaboration of this sort. How many times after revising

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15--This is eminently believable, in the hard times which prevailed in the Rif during the 1930s and 1940s.

423 648 the question have (interventors) had to abandon it unfinished, disheartened to see the effort yielding so little result, and contemplating the manner in which the inventory of such properties had diminished.

423 648 124 [203] Regarding these properties, I was recently told by some Rifians about what happened in their tribal territory when, many years ago, the protectorate authorities decided to plant a piece of communal land in the Eastern Rif with olive trees. The news spread through the tribe with the usual deformation, and its members became alarmed. Some of them, including my informant, decided to divide up all properties of this type which remained to them, for fear of being deprived of them. Did the Makhzin find out? Did it take any action? Is the news true? I do not know.

000 The above notwithstanding, a new revision and classification with every possible guarantee to allay alarm of this sort, and with the object of restoring to the rural estates the creation and classification of their patrimony, is possible. It is a task requiring effort, tenacity, urgency and desirability, because if the appeal (which is made) is not strong and healthy, neither will be the outcome. This patrimony, or at least a part of it, must be made inalienable, as is that of the habus. It should be made up of arable lands, fields and fruit trees at the limit or boundary of the jma'th, with no known owner, and should also include ghaba lands which are not regularly worked. All this land, when the seed has arrived, should then be parcelled out for plowing amonst the members of the jma'th; and some lands should be earmarked for common plowing in order to obtain the means to meet the obligations of hospitality, in this way removing the burden.

them, and to remove positions which might become complicated through useless centralization or confused through disadvantageous classification.

Today Rifian society lacks its own organs of expression, sheltering its ill humor from the picturesque pages of a partisan and slanderous (Spanish) press, a collector of those disaffected and rancorous individuals of poor mentality. In its turn the Makhzin becomes strengthened through a milieu which is hostile through incomprehension. It neutralizes its delegates (mqaddmin), the manner of their appointment, their mediating authority and their connection with the jma'th. Even should he like to do so, the mqaddim cannot, as in other positions, undertake to defend the Makhzin: it is possible that he does not know how, nor that it occurs to him, nor that he would even dare to do so. What, then, remains of his position? That of a local community guardian or of a poor (bad) or fearful informer, if not, indeed, tendentious for some individuals or for others. This is very little, and the progress made in the rural nuclei is nil: communal property is disappearing, and pastureland and brushwood-land are both getting further away and more reduced, while the mosques are cut into pieces, the (inter-community) paths are erased, the wells are emptied and the jma'th is becoming ruined, ceasing to act in its useful communal functions and endeavoring to become a paid or salaried parasite.

Nonetheless, even as strong as was Rifian Custom, so clear, simple and beneficial that it lasted for ages, it appears almost as if when the official and orderly crust was scratched, it (Custom) was unable to obtain the confidence of the tribes or even to fulfill

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Recalcitrance toward hospitality--5 pesetas

Disobedience to other agreements of the iziddifen--5 pesetas

Incompletion of contractual obligations to the schoolmaster--2 pesetas

Damages to irrigation ditches--2 pesetas

Damages caused by animals in land just sown--0.50 pesetas

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An examination of this graded scale shows us with evident clarity the importance which the jma'th attributed to acts committed against it, those against property emerging as the gravest and most feared; for the property of the jma'th was its support and sustenance, and its members placed the strongest penalty upon possible theft of its scarce food reserves in order to avoid such temptations.

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The principal obsession of the jma'th as an institution is, then, the defense of its property and the avoidance of agressions among its members (author's italics), whose simple intention (author's italics) it punishes, in order to avoid quarrels.

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Although rudimentary, it aims to fulfill the defensive needs of the whole social unit. It is not warlike, nor is it in the least religious, if we consider the very slight importance which it concedes

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toward sustenance of the fqih (two pesetas of the fine).[42] It is purely and simply a social unit which places much more importance on the duties of hospitality to guests, for example.[43]

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But it is humane. There are no lashings or mutilations, as instituted by Muslim law, with or without Qur'anic ceremonial; nor is there any deprivation whatsoever of personal liberty in the manner of

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European codes. Neither is it proud, converting the legislators into demi-gods, thanks to immunities and other profits....It aids them to

This same agharrabu is used for transporting merchandise and travelers. For fishing with lines, the Rifians utilize small boats, enclosed, with a flat bottom and one or two benches.

They make the lines and hook themselves. What is left of this wonderful qanun of the sea? The remembrance of the last old Rifian agharrabu, the broken frames of which are half-buried in the sand of a hidden cove, tells us of its courageous life and slow agony, kissed by the waves which it so often dominated, which in incessant pilgrimage render it the ultimate homage to root out as a precious relic the splinters which will merit even combatting the new masters of the sea, the detonating motors.

This is what remains of the old Rifian agharrabus, navigators in history. An old frame and an even older sailor relating the custom of the sea, and now aspiring to a (minor) position in the port (author's italics); (of Villa Sanjurjo--since 1956: al-Husaima).

14. THE QANUN OF WATER RIGHTS (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Water Rights:

Water rights among the Aith Waryaghar are based on the fact that the owner of a plot of land also owns the subsoil as well. For this reason, the waters which pass over the former as well as those which run through the latter belong to him. An individual who owns property can therefore dig any wells which he deems convenient, even though this may damage the quality or cause an accident by not having revealed its presence. This right is limited by the spirit of fraternity which obliges the Rifian to maintain, at cardinal points on a path, such as under the shelter of a tree or by a well, a jug of water so that passers-by may slake their thirst.

423 passers-by may slake their thirst. This also reflects the fact that
823 the retention of surplus water is considered an act of bad faith by a person's neighbors; and the latter fact in part makes it necessary for irrigation water upstream to be properly carried out and led off, and thus that holdings under irrigation be leveled and conveniently prepared.

B) Usage of Water in General:

312 Utilization of water in the Rif presents three facets which are common to all societies: utilization by animate beings, by (or
312 for) lands, and by (or for) industries. Rights of preference are also
423 the same, and in the same order: first, animate objects, the surplus
[402] for lands, and what remains, for industry, which in the Rif is represented by turbine water mills (dhasirth w aman, pl. dhisira w aman), which in times of excessive dryness or drought do not have the right to utilize water from those irrigation channels which divert or subtract the flow from the principal ditch.

C) Water Points for Men and Animals:

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562 Water points in Rifian villages whose liquid content is destined for human and animal consumption are not regulated by any by-laws other than that of designation of the hours in which men may go to them; the rest are reserved for women, for whom it is also customary to reserve, beforehand, and whenever possible, fixed points for washing and bathing. For this reason, if the village contains diverse water
[164] points, one is used by the women and another by the men; and the surplus water is channeled toward a pond (agirman, pl. igirmamen), which forms the common watering place for the animals as well as a malarial focus from which it is difficult to extinguish the mosquitoes.[118] The

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[627] amicably by irrigation specialists (aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen). In the latter instance, these specialists estimated the amount of damage done, and the individual who caused it had to pay for it.[120] The only penalty, most of the time, was indemnity of such damage, through, above all, small reparation projects. In case a man was also punished by fining, the fines were converted into improvements in the irrigation

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624 ditches. The irrigators did not make up special communities with their own jurisdiction or functionaries dedicated to the inspection and fulfillment of the agreements, because this rudimentary society was not fond of bureaucrats(!).....

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423 The difficulty with these irrigation agreements rested primarily, more than on the distribution of the flow of water, on rather the outline of the ditch, for which it was necessary to acquire previously the consent of each one of the property owners on whose plots of land it ran over; these individuals did not ordinarily give in unless they themselves were given an irrigation turn; and, in addition, they made it clear that the ditch was not to cross their land but to follow the boundaries around it.

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[805] Irrigation turns, in the instances dealt with here, are simple, and correspond to the same notion which will later be discussed for the bigger water-courses, and which is based upon the principle of equitable distribution, with the utilization of natural means to calculate the time. This is reduced, once the number of turns is known, to fixing the duration of these and the order in which they occur. This customarily takes place at the point of origin of the ditch or dam; once assembled, the irrigators draw lots, by which each one of them puts down a straw while another, with his back turned,

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571 calls out the order of the turns by picking at random each one of the straws from the place in which they were deposited.[121]

E) Use of Rivers

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675 River waters are submitted, in general, to the same considerations as mentioned above. Their free utilization by owners of riverain land has no stipulation other than that of respecting the preferential rights of upstream lands and of avoiding damage to irrigation work [181] which has already been done. The jursidiction of the riverain people does not extend to the middle of the river-bed, for, as the latter often channels out new and diverse courses due to the torrential regimen of these water-courses which undergo constant variation and subsequent modification of their banks, this would give rise to infinite incidents and frequent modifications of agreements; and all of this would be contrary to the Rifian character, essentially conservative and traditionalist.....There is also another important reason for [648] [619] understanding why this is so, this being that these long-distance water-courses cross the territories of different tribes, ones which are even independent among themselves (and certainly from each other!); and in the event that any agreements at all have been reached about water distribution, these would have been extremely difficult to fulfill and would no doubt have originated not a few fratricidal wars and augmented the already numerous points of friction.

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675 Any other form of action would have been incompatible with the
312 essence of (the social behavior of) this society at the moment in which we are studying it, in which tribe, its clans and smaller segments all have such possessive notions of the property on their territories

423 675 312 that this would have rendered useless all demands and threats voiced by downstream groupings for the transfer of even a minimal amount of flow, and in our time things have not varied; those upstream use all the water that they can, and those downstream, the overflow; and it would not occur to anybody to vary this procedure, followed since time

312 immemorial. To this procedure is very well adapted the regimen of the rivers in the Rif, in the dry beds of which water does not run on the surface, but rises up only in fixed points, each one of these forming, with the help of improvised dams, the sources or points of origin of successive irrigation ditches, making them seemingly independent.

133 241 [578] In addition, the narrow fissures which form the beds of such torrential rivers, their irregular flow, their devastating overflows and floods, in short, opposed nature and men so that the latter would have some motive for doing this and even need it for their small irrigable crop and the bare necessities of life; for it did not and would not occur to anyone to work or cultivate any more land than that necessary for his own subsistence, as anything else, overflow aside, would have attracted the envy of neighbors and strangers, and this in

675 turn would have led to blows. An association on such a large scale and for such modest objectives was, for this reason, impossible, inefficacious and unnecessary.

312 The river waters, in their upper courses, running between steep banks, scarcely need to be utilized even to a small degree on the minute riverain plots of land. In those beds, water, although actually slight in amount, is in fact overabundant, and land is lacking. Limited to the confines of the ditch by the topographical conditions

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423 The Rifian admits anything which constitutes instruction or improvement; but naturally he wants no part of any division of his
312 holdings with strangers. This blessing of water which the official
648 organ (i.e. the Spanish administration) as well as individuals receive, although the latter do so only to a limited degree, is not a product of technique, profitable or exemplary work as new developments would be, possible economic outlets or improvements in the present distributive net, but utilization of native labor in the style of some early-day amghar.

312 Rare are the days of the Makhzin irrigation turn in which the
648 Mkhazniya does not present us (i.e. the administration) with some
695 miserable akhammas[123] accused of the terrible crime of having been
[427] surprised at night attempting to lead up a thread of water into his tiny, dried-up holding, a crystalline fiber which, if it even arrives there to irrigate, only God knows; and the nubth which the Europeans derive from it, dispute from it and gain from it, did not cost them the least effort to lead up nor did they do anything other than wait sitting down while the Makhzin appropriated it. And in such a case neither the Makhzin nor the European stands to gain anything; to the contrary, they have much to lose.

F) Irrigation in the Plain of Al-Husaima:

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695 The usage of irrigation water from the Lower Ghis and Nkur Rivers has been, since time immemorial, the object of individual agreements among the irrigators, agreements which are usually put down in writing, for the flow of water, although variable, permits a regular distribution through permanent ditches, a distribution known

312 Dharga (Sidd)n Bujinn: Downstream from Dharga 'Arridh, in front
[402] of Dharga n Dahar. It reaches Habbuqush[167] and moves three mills
(Sriman Muhammad u Bari, Hammadi n Muh u Bari and Hmid Hammadi).[168]
[571] It has two turns, for the Thimsaman and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.[169]

Dharga Iznagen: Downstream from Bujinn, it reaches Habbuqush and
[571] has the following turn cycle: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, I'abbuthen, Ims'-
[402] audhen, Habbuqush and Thabirkhashth.[170] It moves three mills (Hmid
n 'Amar, Si Mhand u bil-Qasim, and Muhammad n bil-Hajj).

Dharga nj-Fars: only in time of abundance.

104 Vocabulary: water-aman; irrigate-sissu; irrigator-itsissau; turn-nubth, pl. nubath; dam-uggug, pl. uggugen; sluice or dyke-sidd; ditch-dharga, pl. dhargiwin or dhargwin; irrigation furrow ("donde se rompe agua")-anqssar, pl. inqssaren; water or irrigation expert-aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen;[171] land-dhamurth; garden, orchard-dhabhirth.

17. DOCUMENT REGARDING THE DIVISION OF IRRIGATION WATER: TRANSLATION:

675 Praise be to God. After the truce (sulh) took place between the
614 three subclans, which are comprised by the people of Ajdir and those
312 who are with them, those of the Imhawren and the ones with them, and
578 those of the Imrabdhen and the ones with them,[172] the water of the
423 River Ghis which is born (literally, "comes out") in the springs of
691 Bu Harishen and in those below it was partitioned into three irrigation ditches, in conformity with what is set down in the document which records the testimony of those who have agreed to it, the Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Shu'aib Amhawil, wishing to appropriate for himself the water which exists above the springs, whose water is

usufructed by 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Arhawif and his brothers Awlad 'Ali bin Ahmad[173], because the water of the latter is independent of that which was concluded in the agreement, proceeded to hinder it from those (individuals and social groupings) mentioned in the above pact, alleging that it was prejudicial to the water which was the object of the agreement.

He and the Sayyid Misa'ud bin 'Ali al-Ajdiri, wakil (legal representative) of the people of Ajdir and Imrabdhen, appeared for judgment before the servant of the Sultan (may God protect him[174], the Qa'id Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Salam bin 'Abd al-Sadaq and before the distinguished and good jurisconsults and other (persons), who advised them to work out an arrangement, as is ordered in the Book (Koran) and in the traditional law (Shar'), by whatever exists in it of benefit to both parties and by the fear of what could happen as a grave emanation from the quarrel. By virtue of this, the water cited above as the object of litigation shall be divided into three parts. One-third of it, the amount of which is that of four days of irrigation, is for the aforementioned Shaikh Muhammad and his associates in irrigation; and the other remaining two-thirds, the amount of which is that of eight days of irrigation, shall be channeled into the three irrigation ditches which were the object of the first agreement made, and which emanate from the springs of Bu Harishen.

In conformity with the above, the litigation was considered as finished, as mentioned above.

No trouble remaining between them, by virtue of the above, (as well as) no quarrel, no proof, nothing which could continue the debate

224 aid was rendered with firearms, to pay a cartridge, and if rendered
671 with a ferret, to surrender half of the animal taken, for the maintenance of ferrets, based on milk, eggs and bread with olive oil, is costly. The same holds true if he is lent a net; he must pay half of the animals he catches (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 Anyone who, if help is required of him, denies it and
224 deliberately frightens the game away with shouts and gestures, in
689 order to hunt it later on his own, is obliged to pay a fine of 25 pesetas for his selfishness.[192]

671 I) Snow:
224 The tracks of animals (largely hares and rabbits) and the footprints of hunters give rise to the following cases:

1) The animals are for whoever discovers them and follows their tracks from the point where these begin or further; this is thus a recognition of the greatest effort (Aith 'Ammarth).

2) This right may be yielded by the pursuer, for reasons of weariness, etc., to anyone whom he meets on the way; and in case he abandons the search, he loses his rights (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 3) After the den of an animal is discovered, the hunter makes
224 a circle in the snow around it. This circle is a sign of priority
423 rights to the animal within it, and it permits the hunter to follow new tracks even though he may not kill the animal within the burrow.
671 In case another man takes the animal from its den, the claim is
224 examined in front of the mulu' by the first hunter taking oath to
423 having made the circle in order to locate the animal first.
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[681] If through lack of other proof and if afterward it comes to

671 224 423 627 681 be known that one of the parties involved obliged the other one to swear, even knowing that the latter was right, the first party is fined 25 pesetas over and above the value of the animal (Aith Waryaghar).[193]

671 224 4) Animals found on someone's plot of land belong to the man who catches them and not to the owner of the land (Aith 'Ammarth).[194]

J) Nets and Snares:

223 After threshing has been completed in the late summer, threshing floors somewhat distant from the villages are used in order to hunt partridges with nets.[195] The threshing floor is prepared for this purpose, with straw and grains wasted as fodder. It is then surrounded with a semi-circular fence, a sign that it is prepared for birds.

671 223 (685) On a threshing floor, the preferential right to any game caught is that of the owner of the floor. In a floor marked out as indicated above, only the indiviual who prepared it may hunt. Any other person who tries to do so is considered a thief, and the fine he must pay is calculated on the basis of the number of partridges in the net. This right is based upon the patient preparation and expense of fodder, as bait.

223 224 After the den of a rabbit or hare or the nest of a partridge has been discovered, the hunters sprinkle the path to it with the grain residues of threshing in order to gain the animal's confidence; and when they consider it gained, they put the trap hidden between the earth and the remains of the threshed straw.

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22--All the lineages referred to in this paragraph live in the village of Tazurakhth, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, in Aith Waryaghar. In my own notes, however, we have no record of any lineage named Izubu'an in Tazurakhth, and this point we checked out with informants from the same village in 1954.

23--The holiest man in all the subclan areas of the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, Sidi Ahmad (or, as he is called locally, Sidi Hmid) n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud, was of the Aith Kammun lineage of the subclan of the Lower Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar clan of the Imrabdhen. It might be noted that he received one-fifth of any fine paid for a crime committed in the market or on the market road; the other four-fifths were divided up among the other constituents of the market, along tribal and segmentary lines (one for the Axt Tuzin, one for the Aith Bu Khrif of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one for the Aith 'Arus and one for the Aith Turirth). Sidi Ahmad also collected an annual ziyarth from the constituents of the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt, and every summer he made a trip through his bailiwick in order to bring about a cessation of bloodfeuds at harvest time.

24--From the lineage of Aith Wuzghar in Aith Bukhrif, of Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan became a qa'id quyad (qa'id of qa'ids) under 'Abd al-Krim and was the leader of the largest Rifian irregular force on the French Front in 1925-26. Under the Spaniards, he was qa'id of the Nkur qa'idate of Aith Waryaghar from 1926 to 1951, when he was removed from office by the Spanish authorities because of unnecessary harshness. He died on March 1, 1955. My own recollection of him is that he was the most remarkable informant I have ever encountered in Berber Morocco, a walking encyclopedia of Rifian custom.

25--This passage is difficult to translate and even perhaps unclear, but it is nonetheless a faithful rendering of the long-winded and verbose notarial prose in Arabic which any 'adl employs to terminate a document before signing his name.

26--What is meant here is that if the name of a sharif or holy man figures in any given qanun, the talib who is recording it tends to list him first of all, irrespective of whether or not he is the clan's most significant spokesman.

27--"Customary tribunal" is a term which the French applied to the courts of Berber law which they underwrote in the Atlas; and for this reason, it seems doubtful to me that such a notion can apply here, even though the idea that "custom was king" in the Rif was largely or even entirely valid during the "Republik".

28--Blanco makes no mention here of the haqq-houseburning relationship.

29--It seems fairly obvious that Blanco has inadvertently picked up this term for "vengeance" from the extensive literature on the Kabyles of Algeria; the Rifian term is r-'adhawth.

30--R-rhin, "mortgage", always applies to land or houses, i.e. to real property. If A needs money, he gives B some property of equivalent or greater value in return for lending the money to him. When A regains his money, he pays B back and takes back his property. In the Rif,

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[175] 129--Al-Mazimma was the port, in the 8th century A.D., for the City of Nakur. Modern Rifians do not confuse i. with al-Husaima which, they say, aside from the present city and provincial capital of that name, covered the whole area from Badis in Bni Bu Frah to Ras Sidi Sh'aib in Thimsaman. It should also be noted that Sidd, in Arabic, means "dam".

[423] [432] 130--A translation of this document is given in Chapter XVII. It should be noted, in any case, that if a foreigner or anyone whose family does not traditionally irrigate in the area comes to buy land (and to build a house, etc.) in the Lower Ghis region, he has no right to irrigation water until he buys an irrigation turn. He must, furthermore, have a document proving that he bought his turn.

[712] [648] [175] [113] 131--The Jami' al-Mujahidin, or "mosque of the fighters of the faith", where the Aith Waryaghar mounted a permanent and perpetual guard against Spanish invasion, from 1673, when Spain occupied the Isle of al-Husaima, until 1926, when 'Abd al-Krim surrendered. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos sobre Ciudades Rifeñas, Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47.

[175] [648] [631] 132--Both these men were of Ajdir, subclan of Aith Ughir Iyizan, clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The Qa'id Sriman r-Khattabi, a lifelong enemy of 'Abd al-Krim who during the Rifian War was pensioned by the Spaniards and in 1926 made qa'id of all Aith Waryaghar by them, died in 1936.

133--This statement needs some qualification. The four names under consideration here, although two of them (Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan) certainly correspond to lineage names, are in effect names of irrigation turns, for, on the other hand, Bu Mqathir and Zawith (the latter refers to the area around the Monday Women's Market, at Azghar, and not, as far as we know, to any particular zawiya) are both place names, and in both these instances, as indicated in the notation of participants in the Zawith turn, it is the lineages who form local groups in the area under consideration who have right to irrigation water, irrespective of their clan affiliations. In the Zawith turn, again, one of the participating ijujga is that of the Andrusen: this lineage, whose name means "Andalusians", has become a member segment of the subclan of Lower Imrabdhen, in the clan of the Imrabdhen; we say "has become" rather than "is", because, as in fact its name shows, it is made up of the descendants of "foreign shurfa" rather than of those of local ones. Another participating jajgu, the Ihaddallahan, is a lineage branch of the Aith Mis'aud u Yusif of Ajdir, of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan in the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; while the Ushshannen are a branch of the Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, also of Ajdir. We have unfortunately been unable to establish the lineage affiliations of the Fisra and Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Abdinnbi; and, like Blanco's, our own notes on irrigation in the Lower Ghis (made in Imzuren in the autumn of 1953) have nothing to say regarding the lineage participating in the Bu Mqathir turn on the fifth day.

However, one point is very clear: that with the rotation over the first four days between Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan, and the additional fact that at least two lineages of Ajdir participate in the Zawith turn,

346 794 The religious function of the mosque is by no means its most important. It also serves as the location for the Koranic school which as recently as ten years ago was the only sort of education provided for the children of the fellah. In areas where population density is high, the government has set up secular schools (658) (178) which all but replace the Koranic education. The mosque is also used as the place for public assembly of the community.

The mosque is built and kept in repair by the men of the community either through their own labor or through subscription to hire a professional master builder. The property belongs to 346 794 the mosque, generally from specific inheritance provisions. Many 423 larger property owners wishing to pave their way to paradise by (425) (782) some act on earth will donate property to religious organizations. (241) Crops are grown on this bequested territory which serve to meet some of the expenses of the religious man in charge of the mosque.

793 The mosque is presided over by a fqih, a learned man who (212) has had Koranic education and knows how to read and write Arabic. (794) He delivers the weekly sermon and provides lessons to the youth in Koranic education. It is the obligation of every married man 793 within the area served by the mosque to make an annual donation 794 to the mosque to provide for the fqih. The amount, while gen- 465 erally the same for all family heads, is not permanently fixed and can be adjusted according to how good or bad the crop yield was from the preceding year. In the year I was present the community assembly assessed a total of 25 kilos of barley to each man. The fqih also receives weekly donations of eggs from his

554 Within each Riffian community there are individuals and
556 families of differential social status. This differentiation is only partially based on wealth. Such factors as religious piety, descent, reputation and personal integrity also play a role. Prior to the pacification of the Rif skill in warfare and bravery were also markers. For the moment I shall discuss differentiation based on wealth.

556 The most important traditional measure of wealth was, and
423 is today, property ownership. The more land one has, the larger a crop one shall harvest and the greater reserves one can put aside for winter fodder. A consequence is the larger number of animals one can maintain and hence the more elaborate one's ritual activities and the greater assistance one can give relatives, neighbors, and friends.

423 While large landholdings have a positive value in the Rif,
428 such a goal is rather difficult to achieve because of the inheritance laws. Inheritance is based on the Maliki practice which divides the land amongst the heirs. Each son is allocated a full share and each daughter a half share. The widow (or widows) each receive an eighth of the property. In the absence of sons, the estate is divided so that the widow receives her eighth, while the remainder of the property is divided into three shares with the daughter(s) receiving two shares and the father's brother one share. If there are no children, the estate is divided among the brothers.

423 428 562 [587] Property going to females, either to widows or daughters, tends not to be disruptive since their control over their inheritance is minimized by law and social custom. Because of the practice of levirate, traditionally the widow's property was merely transferred from the effective management of one brother to that of another. Whether or not the widow marries a brother of her deceased husband, she can in no case sell her property without the permission of her husband's family.

562 428 [768] The case of daughter inheritance is somewhat more disruptive. While widows generally remain within their deceased husband's family for the protection this affords, daughters marry out. Thus the daughter as another man's wife has a male champion to press claims for use or sale of the inheritance. To the question of should a man come to farm the land of his wife or demand a portion of its production, my informants state that technically he could do so but that no man would want to do this and that to their knowledge no man has ever done so.

428 431 578 182 607 562 The prevailing mechanism for avoiding disputes over the inheritance of a daughter is a gift exchange between a man and his sister's husband. If, for example, A's sister has married B, B holds certain theoretical rights over his wife's land. A, on the other hand, generally cultivates the land. B does not exercise his claim, and indeed the community would disapprove if he did so. However, it is also considered appropriate for A when he visits his sister, to give B's household certain goods, processed barley, fruit, or whatever, which compensate for B's

562
428 noninterference in the use of the land inherited by A's sister
431 and B's wife. Another mechanism which achieves reciprocal
578 equality over inheritance is in sister exchange whereby land
182
607 claims are mutually balanced off.

Despite the weak claim that daughters exercise over their
428
423 inheritance, there are certain legal restrictions over their
607 property. A brother cannot sell his sister's land nor construct
562 on it unless he has obtained the prior permission of his sister's husband. Likewise, a husband cannot sell his wife's inherited property unless he has consulted with the woman's brothers, who have first option to purchase the land.

The male Riffian has a more solid claim over his inheri-
423
428 tance and although some families continue to work the land of their father jointly under the administration of the oldest brother, there tends to be a fragmentation of land with each successive generation. This process tends to level out differ-
423 entiations based on property holdings. On the other hand there
183 is no special cultural value placed on "shared poverty." The
556 aggrandizement of property holding is not a goal towards which
425 the community voices disapproval. To buy land increases a man's wealth as well as his prestige, but he is regarded as advancing his children rather than engaging in entrepreneurship or capital development. He is also regarded as maintaining community solidarity, which is quite the opposite of what the entrepreneur does. To alienate land is regarded as a great source of shame in the Rif. The property which one's father passed on should be

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

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(131)

given to one's sons. However, in times of extended drought and famine as in the mid 'forties and again in the late 'fifties, selling of land and migration to the urban centers have taken place on a fairly wide scale. In such a situation the property owner can sell to a stranger but he must give relatives first option and, if they are unwilling to exercise their right, he should give the option to someone inside the community. To buy land under such conditions is considered not only honorable but a community service in that it maintains the integrity of the community by preventing outsiders from becoming members. However, neither the buyer nor the community regards such a purchase as speculation for economic profit. Rather, they see it as community service and a socially approved method of advancing one's children. The acquisition of land under such circumstances is not a part of the motivation system based on profit but part of the same complex which includes social duty and community solidarity.

Land is, of course, one of the factors of production. But whether the Riffian regards this aspect as being the primary attribute of land can be questioned. A man of my acquaintance whose grandfather and father had made sizable land purchases held at the time more land than he could profitably cultivate and manage. Yet he was quite ashamed that he had not been able to buy more land so as to increase the legacy for his own children. To him the economic value of the land was secondary to its prestige function. Nash's remark about property among the Maya

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Nash's remark about property among the Maya
423 Indians of Guatemala has a certain degree of applicability in
171 the Rif. ". . . Since land is what parents leave children to start their adult lives, the idea of heirloom or patrimony is closer to the definition of land than is commodity or factor of production" (1966:39).

556 Those Riffians who have enhanced their prestige by
576 acquiring greater wealth have certain incumbent social res-
574 ponsibilities which are not placed on the less fortunate. It is expected of all Riffians to offer a meal to anyone who comes asking. This form of hospitality is by tacit agreement, however, generally beholden on only the more prosperous. The majority of such travelers are religious men or Koranic students who travel about from community to community consulting with their own kind or making pilgrimages to local holy shrines. Since they are apparently universally poor, they depend for their livelihood on the hospitality of members of the local community. It is considered extremely bad manners not to provide for them in the way of food and lodging should they request such. (Actually, the proper etiquette is for the host to offer.) As an isolated incident such hospitality would appear to be only a slight inconvenience. However, the more prominent a man the more frequently such calls on hospitality take place. In one home where I lived, such visits during the summer and fall months occurred on an average of twice a week. Coon relates that hospitality can be pressed to the point where the host will act unseemly and even refuse entrance (1931:116). Within the limits of reasonable

556 (423) (425)

under the Spanish, remained more or less a part of his tribe. His son continued to accumulate wealth but exclusively in terms of land, especially from Spaniards leaving the country. He maintained daily contact with his tribe, attended weddings of the more important people within the Beni Wariyaghar and although he lived in the city of Alhucemas, had close and intense connections with the countryside.

(689) (625)

This man's own son, an officer in the army, was visiting Alhucemas and was accused by the police chief of drinking in a public place. The police chief, a recent transfer from the southern zone, was unaware of the prominence of the boy and had him arrested. As soon as his father heard of this he obtained the immediate release of his son through the Ministry of Interior and the suspension of the police chief.

These two examples are illustrative of the fact that wealth itself is not correlated with prestige or power. One might even suggest that analytically there are two sorts of wealth, each based on a different sort of operation in terms of accumulation and distribution. One sort of wealth, that which derives from the land, is a part of a greater complex in which social factors motivate economic action. The other sort of wealth generally operates free of these social factors and is motivated by the profit incentive.

256 the mill collects a tenth of all the flour he processes, regard-
435 less of the level of demand or any market condition. While mills
472 are not economically competitive with one another, they are soci-
256 ally competitive. As one informant put it: "My father was better
472 than his, my grandfather better than his grandfather. If he has
477 a mill, why shouldn't we?" If there is only one mill in a local-
ity, which is a fairly rare circumstance, the entire community
uses it. However, if there are two or more mills, the basis of
[571] preference on the part of the users is not determined by convenience
[578] of location of the mill but in terms of social factors such
[602] as either ancient antagonisms stemming from the blood feuds of
the past or familial alliance based on marriage or kinship.

Just as social motives and strictures lie behind the uses
● 423 of capital, so too do they influence the regulation of labor.
427 We see this in a series of sharecropping associations which arise
between a man who has more property than he alone can personally
cultivate (or who is prohibited from manual labor by his social
and/or religious status, such as some shorfa) and a person who
holds less land than he can cultivate to meet the subsistence
needs of his family. The latter may or may not be a property
holder, although usually he does have a small plot of his own.
Land fragmentation through the peculiarities of Islamic inher-
itance has, however, reduced many plots to sizes too small to
meet such subsistence needs as a family requires. In these cir-
[464] cumstances the Riffian hires out to those who have managed to
keep larger estates or have acquired land through purchase.

423 The number of men under such association is difficult to estimate
427 though I have the impression it is large. No man whom I inter-
464 viewed who might be roughly classified as a leader in the com-
munity had less than one person working for him in such a rela-
tionship.

427 The most prominent and common association is that of the
464 akhammas or sharecroppers. The akhammas is a laborer who volun-
tarily contracts to contribute all the physical labor necessary
for the total production process of a piece of land. The land-
owner provides the land itself, the seed, fertilizer, plough and
any other equipment, and the animal power. The akhammas provides
all labor, from the initial ploughing to the ultimate harvesting.
[465] For his services he receives exactly one-fifth of the yield,
[466] hence the name which derives from hamsa or 'five.' The akhammas
also receives the hand-me-down clothes of the master and often a
427 meal each day. Since the activities of the akhammas entail his
464 constant presence around or even inside the household, he has far
562 greater access to the wives of notables than other males. A man
of sufficient wealth to employ an akhammas would probably isolate
his wife from contact with male society. It is a myth that the
Berbers do not seclude their women. The only ones who are not
secluded from male society are the wives of poor men who must
contribute their labor to the production process. Such women
are, of course, the vast majority. The akhammas has more con-
tact with the wives of the notable class than any other male not
closely related to the family. Since the akhammas must consult

443 buy animals from the local tribesmen, have them inspected by a
445 local official (a practicante; there is no word in tamazight for
463 this innovation introduced by the Spanish), kill them, cut the
231 meat up and sell it. Since it is impractical for most Riffians
(556) to kill an animal for meat unless there is a special social occasion, this service of packaging meat in small lots provides the better-off fellah family with the only meat it eats during
(735) the week. The poor, of course, cannot even afford this luxury.
443 Besides the butchers, there are also barbers, blacksmiths, sol-
445 derers, shoe repairmen, and food vendors. The latter consist
(265) of a group of men located to one side of the market who prepare
(785) and sell fried green peppers, eggs, and sardines. They are the
(796) market group most severely affected by the religious month of Ramadan, since eating food during the days of that month is prohibited, and they go on a monthlong vacation. People engaged in
445 services of this sort, iron workers, blacksmiths, shoe repairmen,
565 and weighers of grain, form a special social class of imziren, or shameless ones. Such public occupations, while necessary, are socially disapproved of and members of this group are thought to have relinquished all connections with their tribe and are wandering about from market to market in search of a living.
445 The most common explanation (given by the fellah not the imziren)
565 for their being where they are is that they have lost their land
● 423 sometime in the past and must engage in such occupations. Since loss of land through feuding did take place, this explanation is plausible. On the other hand, some imziren musicians with whom

445 565 423 I have discussed this claim to possess land in distant tribes but find their occupation more remunerative.

443-445 In addition to these small merchants there is an assortment of people who turn up at irregular intervals to sell special goods or services. Thus we have the photographer with his Polaroid camera, the seller of Viewmasters and slides, the itinerant dentists who pull teeth out with their pliers, the bookseller, the watch repairman, the palm reader, the magician. (159) The greatest attention goes to the medicine man or woman, occasionally selling medical drugs, but more often magical herbs, stones, parts of animals, and powders. The officials on the whole disapprove of these latter, but will tolerate them inside the marketplace unless they become too vociferous or make too extravagant a claim. This whole group, while it often provides the most excitement or novelty of the market, is rather peripheral to the volume of trade that takes place.

442 443 472 Finally there are the large-scale buyers and sellers, the commercial entrepreneurs who have acquired sufficient capital so that short-run setbacks do not greatly affect the operation, who operate not only apart from the local economy but also apart from the regional economy. These are the middlemen between two different economic spheres, who operate with equal efficiency in both. Of course, a large-scale buyer in one market might well turn up in another market as a large-scale seller. Thanks to the limited range of diversification in the markets of the Central

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

is extended into an L- or U-shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16). In Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, growing families are often accommodated by the addition of a second story, but this type of architecture is rare in the deforested areas of Jbala and the Rif.

The necessary conditions of settlement are adequate amounts of land and a reliable source of water. Water is the more critical requirement. There must be sufficient water for drinking, watering the animals, washing clothes, taking an occasional bath, and, if possible, operating a grist mill. The runoff of the stream should be sufficient to irrigate a few precious plots of terraced land in which to grow vegetables and protein-rich legumes. In Jbala most hamlets appear on ridges overlooking the cultivated land. In Sanhaja as-Srair the preferred settlement sites are near the bottoms of valleys, close to perennial streams. Settlement forms a continuous line where terraces can be constructed along a large stream. The valley of Abd al-Ghaya in Ktama is a narrow ribbon of terraces and houses, stretching ten kilometers. In the valley of Taghzut the ribbon form of settlement is even more striking.[1] The concentration of settlement in deep valleys imposes severe barriers to communication. In Bani Hmid and Bani Bu Shibat, neighboring hamlets are often separated by ridges towering several hundred meters above the inhabited land. Similar problems are created by the deep ravines on the Ghmaran coast. To visit a friend or reach the nearest market, many tribesmen must spend hours on tortuous trails. In the steepest valleys, settlements are themselves terraced, like the cultivated land.

In most of the Rif the terms "hamlet" and "village" are complete misnomers. Reflecting the independent spirit of their owners, Rifian houses are separated by at least a hundred meters; in Aith Wariyaghar the usual spacing is three hundred meters,[2] and in former generations each house had a corner tower used as a lookout and blockhouse. The houses that make up a lineage unit are usually closer to one another than they are to those of any other unit, but a man must walk a short distance to visit his brother. In Sanhaja as-Srair, however, he would have only a few steps to walk. In Jbala and Ghmara the houses of kinsmen often have common walls. In most of Morocco, and especially in the Rif, houses are located in territory that indisputably belongs to one tribe or another. Border zones are seldom used except as range land, and in former generations even this use led to violent conflicts.

Types of Houses

In the whole of Morocco there are at least seven distinct types of houses. In the Gharb and in most of the coastal zone between Rabat and Wad Lukkus, the common house is a crude conical structure (*nouala*) of cane and thatch. On the southern slopes of the Atlas and in the oases of the pre-Saharan zone, houses are huge multistory structures (*qsar*) made of rammed mud blocks. On the northern slopes of the High Atlas, houses are built of stone, and resemble solid little blocks.

[1] See the aerial photographs of Taghzut in Jules Blache, "Modes of Life in the Moroccan Countryside," *Geog. Rev.*, 11 (1921), 501.

[2] A. Sánchez Pérez, "Datos historicos sobre ciudades rifeñas," in *Selecciones de conferencias y trabajos realizados durante el curso de interventores, 1951–52* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1952), describes this distance as "el radio mínimo del espacio vital que un Rifeño de buena raza necesita para respirar a sus anchas."

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

tradition that rye could be grown on unclaimed land, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture.[1]

Hunger or plenty depends largely upon the success or failure of the cereal crop. Tree and garden crops supplement but never supplant the cereals. The most important secondary crops are from fruit and nut trees, which are especially numerous in the western part of the Rif. The most important are the olive, pomegranate, fig, and walnut. Apples and plums are grown by some of the highland tribesmen, who graft them on hawthorns. At lower elevations, especially on south-facing slopes, orange, peach, and apricot trees are occasionally seen.

Dried figs and raisins are second only to the cereals as staple foods. The importance of the trees is indicated by the complicated pattern of their ownership. On a given farm, all the trees may belong to an outside party, perhaps the former owner of the land who refused to relinquish title to his trees. One tree may be owned by several people in partnership, and sometimes different people own different branches, or claim parts of the crop on the ground. At one time the Rifians seem to have used grapes or other fruits to make fermented beverages, for Leo Africanus describes them as being "so excessively given to drink, that they scarcely reserve wherewithal to apparel themselves."[2]

Irrigated plots in the valleys of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour produce broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers, carrots, turnips, and squash. Add eggs, and an occasional feast of mutton or goat meat, and you have the main ingredients of the Rifian diet. In recent years fish have been brought in from Alhucemas to the principal rural markets. Fish are regarded as a delicacy, and are usually fried and eaten in the market place.

West of the Rif the dietary situation improves, but it becomes more hazardous toward the east. This distinction is based on the differences in precipitation and runoff. In the eastern lowlands, precipitation is too meager for vines and figs, and extensive irrigation is possible only in the valleys of Wad Kert and Wad Moulouya. The tribesmen of Garet suffer from acute want in any unusually dry year, and most adults remember at least one famine. Garet and Gal'aya are northern Morocco's main areas of emigration.

In the Sanhajan highlands and in most of Ghmara and Jbala, each hamlet has a reliable source of irrigation water. The main irrigated crops are maize, beans, and squash. The planting of beans between the rows of maize may indicate an unformulated appreciation of the value of pulses as restorers of the nitrogen content of the soil. Perhaps not; for the plants in this New World combination seem to have been introduced as one complex by Andalusian refugees.

In most of the central highlands, and especially in Sanhaja as-Srair, *kif*, or hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), is an important cash crop. It is grown under irrigation during the summer, and is usually planted and harvested at about the same time as maize. After it has been reaped, the stems of the plant are submerged in a stream and held down with stones. After two or three days of soaking, the fibers are separated and used to make cord, mats, and baskets.

Traveling from the central highlands toward the Atlantic lowlands, one notes

[1] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 47–48.
[2] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 516.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

Mills of this type are usually privately owned, and the owner collects one-tenth of the flour. When there is neither hand nor turbine mill, the women pound the grain with iron bars.

The implements used to press and pulp olives are similar to those used in Roman time.[10] The apparatus consists of a mill, a press, and a vat. The millstone lies against a centrally placed revolving post and is turned by means of a horizontal shaft with one end secured in the center post and the other projecting beyond the stone (fig. 23). Mills are used both for bruising the fruit before pressing and later to pulp the pressed fruit for use as cattle fodder. The larger mills are powered by animals, the smaller by hand. The essential part of the press is a large log, held in place by heavy wooden screws, which is forced down on baskets filled with olive mash.

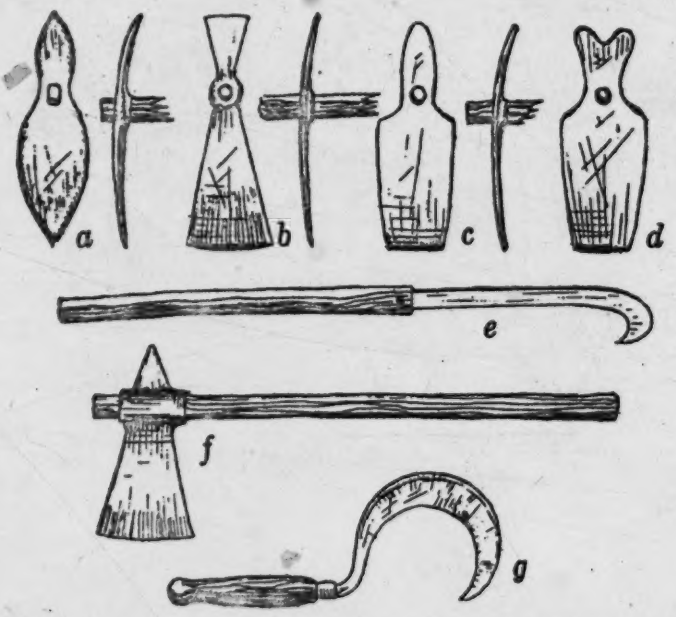

Fig. 21. Farm implements: *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, digging and weeding tools; *e*, grubbing and cutting tool; *f*, hatchet used by woodcutters; *g*, sickle.

Role of Domestic Animals

In the statistical report of 1953 the number of domestic animals in Spanish Morocco is given as 1,104,000 goats, 661,000 sheep, 337,000 cattle, 55,000 donkeys, 22,000 mules, and 2,000 camels.[11] The number of goats nearly equals that of human beings. They are kept for their meat, milk and hides. In many areas the number of goats is limited only by the amount of space available for storage of fodder and by the number of herds.

[10] H. Camps-Fabrer, *L'Olivier et l'huile dans l'Afrique romaine* (Algiers: Service des Antiquités, 1953).

[11] *Anuario estadistico, 1952–53*, p. 131, cited in note 1.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

different dam. In deep valleys it is often necessary to move water back and forth across the natural drainage lines. For this purpose, wooden conduits are set on long tripods. Construction of irrigation works begins in the spring, and after a few months of use the water is redirected into its natural course. Since water is required only during the dry season, irrigation systems are designed for the minimum runoff. On steep slopes, water is carefully directed into a series of ponds; check dams are used to impound water from springs. Channels are constructed to lead water to grist mills, but the use of water for milling has a low priority, for most communities also have smaller mills turned by hand.

The construction and maintenance of dams and irrigation ditches require less effort than the construction and maintenance of terraces. With the exception of a few works in the coastal plains, terracing is necessary for irrigation. Since irrigation involves channeling rather than simple flooding, most terraces have a slight slope and are supported by stone walls (pl. 6, *b*). There is no rotation of crops on irrigated land. In areas of thin residual soil the land is gradually built up by the constant deposition of baskets of mud, another of the backbreaking tasks assigned to the women. Fertilizer, a mixture of sheep dung and ashes, is applied each year.

The regulation of water rights is a complicated matter.[14] The rights of preference pass from human beings to animals, crops, and industries. The two main rivers of the Rif, Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, illustrate the problems of management. Wad Ghis has only about a fourth of the flow of Wad Nkour, but its flow is more predictable. Those who irrigate with its waters know the quantity they can expect, and plan accordingly. In normal years Wad Nkour irrigates nearly ten times as much land as Wad Ghis, but in some years it remains little more than a muddy trickle. Hence there is frequent occasion for disputes, which in the past often led to prolonged feuds. In both basins the mountaineers have almost unlimited use of water, while the more numerous plainsmen must be satisfied with what is left. Most Rifian communities have secondary sources of water: wells, springs, and ponds. Each family is allowed a certain time at the water source, and the community as a whole works out the regulations and fines.

An elaborate series of agreements, usually verbal, deals with the construction and maintenance of irrigation works. The labor of construction as well as the necessary reconstruction after heavy rains is done by representatives of the families using the water. Infractions of agreement often lead to differences of opinion about these responsibilities or the period of time water is used. Serious disputes may arise over the outlines of ditches, and for this reason it is necessary to gain the consent of each property owner over whose land the water is to flow. The irrigation turns of the larger communities are regulated by days. Within such communities, individual families are allowed shorter periods of use, usually an hour. The mechanics of irrigation requires the use of the hoe to build up and then destroy a tiny diversion dam.

[14] In this section I have made use of J. M. Paniagua y Santos, "Notas sobre el derecho consuetudinario de la propiedad en el Rif," *Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos*, 4 (1948), 1–44; D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, 2 (1954), 55–57; and D. A. Caponera, "Water Laws in the Moslem Countries," *FAO Development Paper 43* (Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, 1954).

A, [See p. 130--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Contracts and Coöperation

675 464 171 241 When tribesmen are unable or unwilling to work their own land, contracts are made between the wealthier and the poorer members of a community; those who have little land or equipment hire themselves out to those who have more. Farmers who have more animals than they or their sons can manage, make agreements with others to care for the herd. The hired shepherds, while the animals are in their hands, receive part of the milk and butter, some of the young that are born, and, if the animals are sold, a share of the profit. The shepherd receives part, sometimes half, of the wool. Full-time employment as a shepherd is considered rather degrading, and for this reason it is the common occupation of exiles and orphans.

Vegetable gardens, orchards, and fields may be cared for by hired laborers. If their job entails the difficult task of setting up terraces, they may get up to a third of the crop. If they perform all the operations necessary for cereal cultivation, they receive a fifth of the crop. If the hired hand needs an assistant during the reaping, the latter is paid with a tenth of the harvest. Associations of this sort are not common; farm labor is ordinarily done by the landowner and his sons.

476 241 171 A second type of association takes place when two farmers own plots of about the same size but do not have enough animals or equipment to work their land independently. The two farmers join forces, each supplying his share, and the harvest is divided between them. This form of coöperation is common when a farmer has only one draft animal. In irrigated areas, one man may supply the land and part of the seed, and another the rest of the seed, the animals, and the plow. Since most communities are kinship groups, coöperation of this sort is usually among brothers or cousins.[112]

Inheritance

428 171 The inheritance of property[113] in most of Morocco follows standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. When a man dies his widow first receives one-eighth of his property and the remainder is divided among the sons and daughters. All sons inherit equally, as do all daughters. If a man dies leaving a widow and daughters only, the widow gets one-eighth and the remainder is divided into three parts, of which the daughters receive two and the father's brother one. If the father has no brothers, the rest (aside from the widow's share) goes to the daughters. If he does have brothers, and dies leaving only one daughter, she receives half of the property (minus the widow's share) and the brothers get the other half. If a man dies leaving no children, his widow receives a fourth of his property and the rest goes to the brothers. If a man with children dies prior to his father, the children have no right to the property and receive shares only if the grandfather agrees to such a division.

[423] Moroccans are very reluctant to divide up their land. When brothers inherit land they customarily work it jointly, the eldest brother acting as a substitute

[113] [112] On contracts and coöperation, see also A. Sánchez Pérez, "Aprovechamientos comunales y formas de cooperación en el Rif," *Selección de conferencias pronunciadas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso 1950–51* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1951), pp. 95–104.

[113] [113] This paragraph is based upon the remarks of D. M. Hart in *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 141–143.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

for the father. Division takes place only if the brothers quarrel. Since daughters nearly always marry into other communities, they are usually induced to sell their land.

Hunting and Fishing

In autumn and winter most men, and especially the mountaineers, spend as much time as possible in search of game. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, pigeons, and partridges; in former generations they also hunted wild boar, aoudad, and gazelle.[11] Rifles, nets, traps, strones, and clubs are used in hunting. Game may be driven into a net at the base of a palisade. Those who can afford rifles shoot their game, and a generation ago hunters made proficient use of flintlocks. The best time for hunting rabbits is after a snowfall, when they can be traced to their nests. In the Sanhajan highlands such periods are marked by the scurrying about of numerous hunting parties and the incessant barking of dogs.

It is difficult to say whether hunting should be described as a phase of livelihood or merely as a sport. Game evidently makes an appreciable contribution to diet only in the highlands, and even there the year's catch may be limited to a few rabbits and birds. Yet one of the highest compliments you can pay a Moroccan is to call him a "great hunter," and many an evening is spent listening to hunting adventures. Game is usually pursued during the idle period, after the cereals have been sown and before it is time to think of the summer crops. Interest in marksmanship is associated with the old tradition of the gentleman warrior. To the young Rifian, who grows up hearing tales of feuds and wars, there is no greater pleasure than to possess a fine rifle. This seems to have been the motivation of many of the boys who joined the Spanish army or the native *mehalla*.

Fishing takes place all along the Mediterranean coast. Most of the catch is obtained by seining small fish near the shore. The seine, made of hemp, is carried out about a hundred meters in a small boat. It is attached to two ropes held by men on the beach. When the boat has reached the end of the ropes, the seine is let out in a semicircle. The ropes are then pulled in, gradually lessening the distance between them. When the net is beached, the fish are scooped up in baskets and put in a common pile, later to be divided among the families assisting in the catch.[12]

In the journal of Leo Africanus are several accounts which suggest that fishing was an important industry in the sixteenth century.[13] At Peñón de Vélez he found "such abundance of fish, that one man alone is not able to draw up a net." He notes that fish from Peñón de Vélez were "salted and sent up into the mountains." At Terga, near Wad Lao, most of the inhabitants were fisherman "who, getting great abundance of fish, salt them and carry them to sell almost a hundred miles southward." At Tiguisas, on the Ghmaran coast, all the inhabitants were "fishers and seafaring men," and the smell of their fish "miserably infecteth the whole province." Even if these reports are exaggerated, it seems likely that fishing was

[11] For a Spanish sportsman's account of game in northern Morocco see G. Durán Pulis, *La caza en Marruecos* (Las Palmas: Imprenta Minerva, 1955). Note also the brief remarks of Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," pp. 37–38, cited in note 5.

[12] On the details of this operation, see Ignacio del Cubillo, "Actividades marítimas de la zona de protectorado de España en Marruecos," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948). The boat is illustrated in Rackow, *op. cit.*, plate XLIX, cited in note 8.

[13] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, II, 517–520.